

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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P 221528Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9032

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EXDIS

FOR EUR - ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PROP, PL

SUBJECT: BRZEZINSKI-GRIFFITH LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF

OCTOBER 31, 1975

REF WARSAW 8236

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT OF SECOND SECRETARY JACK M. SEYMOUR, DATED DECEMBER 1, 1975, WITH REGARD TO THE ACCOUNT ENCLOSED WITH SUBJECT LETTER OF THE LUNCHEON OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1975.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

A. CIRCUMSTANCES. I SUGGESTED TO AL (BRAINARD) THAT WE INVITE KISIELWSKI TO LUNCH, BECAUSE I HAD MET HIM SEVERAL TIMES PREVIOUSLY AND WISHED TO MAINTAIN THE CONTACT AND ALSO BECAUSE I FELT THAT AL SHOULD MEET HIM ON ONE-TO-ONE BASIS, SINCE KISIELEWSKI IS A WIEDELY AND HIGHLY REGARDED SPOKESMAN OF THE UNOFFICIAL OPPOSITION. I TELEPHONED KISIEL AT HOME THE WEEK BEFORE TO INVITE HIM TO MEET OUR NEW COUNSELOR. I BELIEVE KISIEL SUGGESTED THE BUDAPEST.

B. ALTHOUGH I HAD MADE RESERVATIONS, THERE WAS A MIS- UNDERSTANDING AND WE WOUND UP IN A CENTER AISLE TABLE INSTEAD OF AT THE WINDOW WHICH I WOULD HAVE PREFERRED.

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HOWEVER, I HAVE KNOWN KISIEL TO SIT THERE BEFORE AND HE

DID NOT SEEM TO MIND. HE SHOWED NO CONCERN AT ALL ABOUT ATTRACTING ATTENTION; HOWEVER, AT SOME POINT IN THE CONVERSATION HE QUIPPED THAT HE WOULD BE GOING TO PARIS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS FOR A LONG-PLANNED TRIP - IF HIS LUNCHEON WITH US DID NOT CAUSE THE AUTHORITIES TO REVOKE HIS PASSPORT.

C. DISCUSSION RANGED OVER A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS OF A GENERAL NATURE, INCLUDING RFE AND THE POINT ABOUT THE CHURCH WHICH WAS REPORTED IN MY MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION DATED SEPTEMBER 19, 1975. POLISH WAS THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF CONVERSATION, BUT, AS I RECALL, KISIEL AND AL EXCHANGED A FEW SENTENCES IN GERMAN AT ONE POINT. A FEW WORDS OF ENGLISH MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN USED, BUT POLISH WAS UNQUESTIONABLY THE LANGUAGE OF THE DISCUSSION.

D. THE EXCHAGES BECAME SOMEWHAT VEHEMENT AT TIMES, ESPECIALLY DURING THE DISCUSSION OF RFE, BUT AT NO TIME DID THE DISCUSSION ASSUME THE NATURE OF AN ARGUMENT. THE MOST EXTREME DEPICTION POSSIBLE, AND I WOULD USE IT HESITATINGLY, IS THAT OF HONEST DISAGREEMENT ON SOME POINTS. ANGRY WORDS OR TONE WERE NEVER USED, AND, AS FAR AS I COULD SEE, THE CONVERSATION WAS NOT ATTRACTING ANY PARTICULAR ATTENTION, EXCEPT POSSIBLY FOR AN OCCASIONAL TURNED HEAD AT AN ADJACENT TABLE. I WAS IN A REASONABLY GOOD POSITION TO KNOW THIS, SINCE I WAS NOT REALLY PARTICIPATING IN THE DISCUSSION OF RFE. MOST OF IT INVOLVED PERSONALITIES AND EVENTS WITH WHICH I WAS NOT FAMILIAR, AND I CONFESS TO PAYING MORE ATTENTION AT TIMES TO OUR SURROUNDINGS THAN TO THE DETAILS OF THAT PART OF THE DISCUSSION.

E. SUBSTANCE. WITH DUE CONSDIERATION FOR THE CIRCUMSTANCES JUST DESCRIBED AND FOR THE PASSAGE OF TIME MY RECOLLECTION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DISCUSSION IS THAT AL EXPLAINED SOME OF THE BACKGROUND TO NOWAK'S APPROACH TO RFE. HE MAY ALSO HAVE MENTIONED IN GENERAL TERMS THE FINANCIAL BACKGROUND TO THE RECENT REORGANIZATION OF THE RADIOS. I BELIEVE HE CRITICIZED THE FAILURE OF THE POLISH SERVICE TO ADAPT ITSELF TO MODERN CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS IN POLAND, AND I THINK HE MENTIONED THAT RFE MAY BE IN DANGER OF LOSING YOUNG

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GENERATION LISTENERS BECAUSE OF THIS. HE MAY ALSO HAVE CONTRASTED THE POLISH SERVICE'S APPROACH IN THIS REGARD TO THE MORE SUCCESSFUL EFFORT OF THE HUNGARIAN SERVICE. GENERALLY, I THINK HE MADE THE POINT THAT THE RADIOS ARE COMING IN FOR CLOSER SCRUTINY IN CONGRESS FROM THOSE WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR FINANCES AND HOW TO MAKE THEIR SERVICE MORE EFFECTIVE. I AM NOT CERTAIN ABOUT THESE DETAILS BOTH FOR THE REASONS MENTIONED AND BECAUSE AL HAS MADE THESE POINTS TO ME

AND OTHERS, WHICH MAKES IT DIFFICULT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME TO SORT OUT THE CONVERSATIONS.

F. OF ONE BASIC THING I AM ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN. THE WHOLE THRUST OF AL'S PRESENTATION CONCERNED NOT THE RESTRICTION, MUCH LESS THE ELIMINATION, OF RFE, BUT HOW TO MAKE IT MORE EFFECTIVE. CONSEQUENTLY, I AM AT A LOSS TO EXPLAIN HOW THAT POINT WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST ON KISIELEWSKI. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH HE OCCASIONALLY EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT ABOUT AL'S DISCUSSION OF NOWAK, AT NO TIME, AS FAR AS I CAN RECALL, DID KISIELEWSKI CHALLENGE AL'S POINT THAT RFE'S SERVICE CAN AND SHOULD BE IMPROVED. AT THE RISK OF UNFAIRLY EMBELLISHING THE EVENT, I WOULD GO SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT KISIELEWSKI, AT LEAST IN HIS REACTIONS, EVINCED AGREEMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT RFE MAY HAVE LOST SOME OF ITS YOUNGER LISTENERS AND THAT IT MAY NOT HAVE THE CLOSE TOUCH WITH EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES IN POLAND THAT IT ONCE HAD. THIS IS DIFFICULT TO SAY POSITIVELY. IN ANY EVENT, AS FAR AS I COULD TELL, THE GENERAL TENOR OF THE DISCUSSION WAS CONGENIAL AND WE PARTED ON VERY GOOD TERMS, WITH EXPRESSIONS OF "LET'S GET TOGETHER AGAIN AFTER YOUR RETURN FROM FRANCE," ETC. THEREFORE, I BELIEVE THAT KISIELEWSKI WAS PROMPTED TO HIS ACTION MORE BY AFTERTHOUGHT THAN BY WHAT WAS ACTUALLY SAID, AND I SUSPECT HIS OWN RECOLLECTIONS ABOUT THE ACTUAL TRAIN OF DISCUSSION MAY BE ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS HAZY THAN MINE. END TEXT

DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PROPAGANDA, RADIO BROADCASTING, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 DEC 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975WARSAW08237  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X4  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Line Count:** 142  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 75 WARSAW 8236  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <29 MAY 2003 by WorrelSW>; APPROVED <14 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BRZEZINSKI-GRIFFITH LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF OCTOBER 31, 1975  
**TAGS:** PROP, PL, RFE, (KISIELEWSKI, STEFAN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006